

Longuet's "Salonica Hoard" and the Mint of Thessalonike in the Mid-Fourteenth Century

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History of the Hoard

The Salonica hoard has been published twice before, in 1960 by Henry Longuet and in 1984 by Simon Bendall, whose brief history of the hoard I will summarize here and bring up to date.¹ The hoard was purchased in Thessalonike in the 1930s by one of Longuet's friends.² A local man had recently found the coins and was selling them in an antique shop. The coins were brought back to France and given to Longuet for study. During the confusion arising from the German occupation of Mulhouse the coins and the notes and photographs Longuet had made of them were lost. About a decade after the end of the Second World War Longuet recovered his notes and images and from these, and his memory, he published the hoard in 1960.³ Forty-four years after their disappearance most of the coins from the hoard resurfaced in Kehl, some sixty miles to the north of Mulhouse, in the hands of the coin dealer Paul-Francis Jacquier, who sold them to Simon Bendall. Two of the original seventy-three coins were missing, but they had been replaced by two other coins

of the same denomination, mint, and period.⁴ The large number of types and overstrikes helped Bendall create a sequence of types for the Thessalonike mint, whereupon he published an update to Longuet's article, filling in gaps and suggesting a new chronology for the coins. Then, in order for the hoard to remain intact for further study, Bendall sold it *en bloc* to Dumbarton Oaks in 2007, where I was able to undertake a new autoptical examination of the coins.⁵ This article will suggest a few alterations in Bendall's chronology, propose the addition of another type and mule, and examine the hoard within the broader context of the production of the mint of Thessalonike.

The Mint of Thessalonike in the Fourteenth Century

Although Thessalonike had long been one of the largest cities in the empire, as well as a major center of trade, the history of its mint from the early Byzantine period to 1224 is somewhat uncertain. Regular minting occurred under the Komneno-Doukai and then

1 H. Longuet, "Un trouvaille de monnaies des Palaéologues," *RBN* (1960): 243–66; S. Bendall, "Longuet's Salonica Hoard Reexamined," *ANSMN* 29 (1984): 143–57 and pls. 20–26.

2 Thus, although the hoard is known as the Salonica hoard, we cannot be sure that the coins came from the city itself rather than its immediate hinterland.

3 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 143–44.

4 *Ibid.*, 145. Following Bendall's catalogization I have placed these two coins at the end of the catalogue, rather than in their correct chronological place.

5 I was given the opportunity to study the hoard by Cécile Morisson in the summer of 2009 and so would like to thank her for both the opportunity and her encouragement while writing this paper.

the restored Byzantine Empire from 1261.⁶ While this is not the place for a full history of the mint, there are a certain number of minting practices in late Byzantine Thessalonike that should be taken into account before considering the Salonica hoard. There was a general decrease in the quality of the coins in terms of the execution of the designs, which remained relatively ambitious, and in the fabric of the coins themselves.⁷ This decline is notable during the reign of Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) when comparing coins from the beginning of his reign to those struck at the end; with the switch to flat dies in the late 1320s or early 1330s the quality of the design execution improved, only to drop again by the 1340s.⁸ One consequence of the lower standards of the mint is the large number of overstrikes present in the numismatic record. Bendall records twenty-seven types struck over twenty-four or twenty-five other types; this is just over one quarter of all known types from the mint of Thessalonike under Andronikos II, Andronikos III (r. 1328–1341), and John V (r. 1341–1391, with breaks).⁹ The sheer number of types present in every known hoard is evidence that there was no formal process whereby the mint of Thessalonike recalled or gathered older types for restriking.¹⁰ Although it is likely, we cannot be certain that types struck over one another were roughly contemporary.¹¹

We should also consider the great variety of types. It has long been believed that there was an annual change in the type of the copper or billon coinage at Thessalonike, starting in the reign of Theodore Komnenos Doukas (1224–1230) and continuing until

the 1340s.¹² Bendall has identified seventy-five types attributable to Andronikos II and Andronikos III.¹³ As he notes, this is far more than one for each of the fifty-nine years that these two emperors reigned. A few explanations for this are possible: the pattern of annual changes was not followed ca. 1282–ca. 1342, as during this time the mint changed designs more frequently; there was a second mint operating in the western Balkans producing coins of a similar style and quality; or some of the seventy-five types might be mules.¹⁴ Without further evidence all three options are impossible to prove or disprove.

While the frequency with which the mint of Thessalonike changed its designs is interesting, the care given to avoid replication is even more so. As Bendall has noted, it seems as though the mint sought to make each new design unique, avoiding replication, certainly within an individual reign.¹⁵ A study of the coinage of Thessalonike will reveal subtle differences in the frequently recurring image of St. Demetrios, and even of the Palaiologan monogram, which was reversed on at least one occasion, presumably to ensure the unique nature of the type. Such minor differences in iconography should be kept in mind when evaluating the Salonica hoard and the coinage of the mint in general.

Composition and Chronology of the Hoard

The Salonica hoard contains three types (A–C) of Andronikos II, totaling five coins; fourteen types (D–Q) of Andronikos III, plus two mules and a variant, totaling fifty-two coins; and three types (R–T) of John V, totaling eight coins. In table 1 the coins are divided into groups with their corresponding numbers from this catalogue, followed by a brief description.

As stated above, the minting sequence of the coins in the hoard has been reworked, and a new type and a new mule added. This has necessitated a relabeling of the coins in the hoard, as the numbers assigned by Bendall would now fall out of sequence. A summary table (table 2) has been provided to illustrate the suggested changes.

6 *DOC* 4.1; *DOC* 5.1; C. Morisson, “The Emperor, the Saint, and the City: Coinage and Money in Thessalonike from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century,” *DOP* 57 (2003): 173–203.

7 The high quality of craftsmanship displayed on Thessalonican issues under the Komneno-Doukai came to an end with the Nicaean conquest of the city in 1246. Morisson, “Emperor, the Saint, and the City,” 178: “This rather poor, even wretched, fabric is the norm in the subsequent and last century of Thessalonican coinage.”

8 S. Bendall, “An Early Fourteenth-Century Hoard of Thessalonican Trachea,” *NC* 161 (2001): 268–69.

9 S. Bendall, “An Update on Palaeologan Overstrikes,” *NCirc* 115.4 (2007): 204.

10 Bendall, “Thessalonican Trachea,” 270.

11 *Ibid.* Bendall (“Palaeologan Notes,” *NCirc* 115.6 [2007]: 305) has suggested that the undertype perhaps represents the coins of the previous design not yet released by the mint into circulation.

12 Morisson, “Emperor, the Saint, and the City,” 177.

13 Bendall, “Thessalonican Trachea,” 265.

14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*, 264.

Table 1.

Type	Numbers	Obverse Description	Reverse Description
Andronikos II			
A	1	Large patriarchal cross, stars in bottom quarters.	Standing emperor holding two haloed crosses.
B	2	Six-petaled flower.	Bearded senior emperor crowning a beardless junior emperor.
C	3–4	St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield.	Standing emperor holding a scepter cruciger and a globus cruciger. Two stars and a <i>manus Dei</i> in the field.
Andronikos III			
D	5	Half-length winged archangel holding a sword and shield.	Emperor kneeling before Christ.
E	6	Bust of a military saint holding a sword.	Emperor holding a large labarum and a scepter.
F	7–8	Nimbate bust between B and B .	Standing emperor holding a scepter cruciger, between B and two stars.
G	9	Uncertain.	Two nimbate figures, one in military costume, holding a patriarchal cross between them.
H	10	$\frac{3}{4}$ winged angel holding a sword/spear and a shield.	Standing winged emperor holding a scepter and a haloed cross.
I	11	Uncertain.	Standing emperor holding two models of a city. <i>Manus Dei</i> and a star in field.
J	12	Palaiologan monogram.	Emperor standing beneath an arch holding a globus cruciger.
K	13	Six-petaled flower.	Standing emperor, holding a scepter, being blessed by a military saint holding a spear.
L	14–19	Standing Virgin orans, four stars in field.	Standing emperor, holding an akakia, blessed by a small nimbate figure. B in field.
M	20–22	Bust of a military saint.	Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross and a scepter. <i>Manus Dei</i> above.
Var. A	23	Bust of a military saint holding a spear, star in field.	Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross and scepter.
N	24–26	Patriarchal cross with winged shaft.	Half-length emperor, holding a scepter, being blessed by a military saint. Patriarchal cross between. Half circle containing a star above.
O	27–36	Palaiologan monogram, two stars in field.	Emperor on horseback holding a scepter, B and star in field.
Mule A	37	$\frac{3}{4}$ military saint holding a spear and shield.	Emperor on horseback holding a scepter, B and star in field.
Mule B	38	Palaiologan monogram.	Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross.
P	39–49	Half-length St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield.	Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross in each hand.
Q	50–57	Seated St. Demetrios with a sword across his knees.	Standing emperor holding a scepter; large lis and seven stars in the field.
John V			
R	58	Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield.	Emperor kneeling before Christ.
S	59–60	$\frac{3}{4}$ St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield.	Two standing figures holding a patriarchal cross between them.
T	61–65	Standing winged archangel.	Two standing emperors, one adult, one infant, holding scepter crucigers; star and haloed cross in field.
U	66	$\frac{3}{4}$ bust of a military saint.	Uncertain.
John Orsini	67–70	Castle.	Cross.
Anon.	71	Castle.	Cross.
Addition 1	72	Half-length St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield.	Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross in each hand.
Addition 2	73	Standing emperor holding two large Bs .	Six-pointed star.

Table 2.

Salonica Hoard Concordance							
Ruler	Type	Specimen	Type Bendall 1984	Specimen Bendall 1984	Specimen Longuet 1960	Overstruck on Type	Die Linked with
Andronikos II	A	1	1	1	9	–	–
	B	2	2	2	20	–	–
	C	3	9	9B	4b	<i>DOC 5.2:825–32</i>	–
		4	9	9C	–		
Andronikos III	D	5	3	3	1	–	–
	E	6	5	5	5	–	–
	F	7	7	7A	3a	<i>DOC 5.2:770</i>	–
		8	7	7B	3b	–	–
	G	9	4	4	22	–	–
	H	10	6	6	6	–	–
	I	11	8	8	23	–	–
	J	12	10	10	17	–	–
	K	13	14	14	21	–	–
	L	14	13	13A	13a	–	–
		15	13	13B	13b	–	–
		16	13	13C	13c	–	–
		17	13	13D	13d	–	–
		18	13	13E	13e	<i>LPC Add. 7</i>	–
		19	13	13F	13f	Uncertain	–
	M	20	15	15A	15a	–	–
		21	15	15B	15b	–	–
		22	15	15C	15c	–	–
	Var. A	23	15	15D	15d	–	–
	N	24	16	16A	18a	–	–
		25	16	16B	18b	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	–
		26	16	16C	18c	Uncertain	–
	O	27	11	11A	7a	–	–
		28	11	11B	7b	–	–
		29	11	11C	7c	–	–
		30	11	11D	7d	–	–
		31	11	11E	7e	–	–
		32	11	11F	7f	–	–
		33	11	11G	7g	–	–
		34	11	11H	7h	–	–
		35	11	11I	7i	–	–

Specimens known from outside the hoard								
<i>DOC 5.2</i>	<i>LPC</i>	<i>Dochev 1992^a</i>	<i>Ohrid^b</i>	<i>Bendall 2001^c</i>	<i>Penčev 2003</i>	<i>Bendall 2007 (Hoard 2)</i>	<i>Other Specimens</i>	<i>Overstrikes Outside of the Salonica Hoard</i>
798–800	220 ²⁶	26 ex.	–	56–66 ^d	137–38 n. 18	Hoard 2 3 ex.	–	–
765	230 ⁵	16 ex.	1 ex.	11–16 ^e	141–42 n. 4	Hoard 2 6 ex.	–	s.2392, <i>DOC 5.2:809^f</i>
811–15	212 ¹⁴	28 ex.	1 ex.	81–85 ^g	136–37 n. 10	Hoard 2 2 ex.	–	<i>DOC 5.2:825^h</i>
913–17	204 ¹	–	–	120	142–43 n. 1	–	1 ex. Philippoi ⁱ	–
–	240 ¹⁰	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
931–32	240 ¹¹	6 ex.	–	132–36 ^j	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
930	238 ⁹	–	–	– ^k	–	–	–	–
935	Add. 14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
933	240 ¹²	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	208 ⁶	1 ex.	–	–	–	–	–	–
921	236 ⁴	1 ex.	–	–	–	–	–	<i>DOC 5.2:833^l</i>
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	236 ⁵	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
919–20	234 ³	7 ex.	–	–	–	–	1 ex. Makre Ebrou ^m	<i>DOC 5.2:780ⁿ</i> ; deniers tournois of John Orsini ^o
–	242 ¹³	2 ex.	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Table 2.—*continued*

Salonica Hoard Concordance							
Ruler	Type	Specimen	Type Bendall 1984	Specimen Bendall 1984	Specimen Longuet 1960	Overstruck on Type	Die Linked with
Andronikos III		36	11	11J	7j	—	—
	Mule A	37	12	12	8	—	—
	Mule B	38	19	19	16	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
	P	39	17	17A	14a	—	—
		40	17	17B	14b	—	—
		41	17	17C	14c	—	—
		42	17	17D	14d	—	—
		43	17	17E	14e	—	—
		44	17	17F	14f	—	—
		45	17	17G	14g	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
		46	17	17H	14h	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
		47	17	17I	14i	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
		48	17	17J	14j	Type K over <i>LPC 224</i> ³¹	—
		49	17	17K	14k	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
	Q	50	18	18A	19a	—	—
		51	18	18B	19b	Type P	—
		52	18	18C	19c	—	—
		53	18	18D	19d	—	—
		54	18	18E	19e	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
		55	18	18F	19f	—	—
		56	18	18G	19g	Type P	—
		57	18	18H	—	Deniers tournois of John Orsini	—
John V	R	58	20	20	2	Type P	—
	S	59	21	21A	10	—	—
		60	21	21B	12	—	—
	T	61	22	22A	11a	—	—
		62	22	22B	11b	—	—
		63	22	22C	11c	Uncertain	—
		64	22	22D	11d	922	—
		65	22	22E	25	—	—

Specimens known from outside the hoard								
<i>DOC 5.2</i>	<i>LPC</i>	Dochev 1992 ^a	Ohrid ^b	Bendall 2001 ^c	Penčev 2003	Bendall 2007 (Hoard 2)	Other Specimens	Overstrikes Outside of the Salonica Hoard
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
927	236 ⁶	3 ex.	1 ex.	–	143 n. 5	–	1 ex. Prilep ^p	<i>DOC 5.2:765</i> ^q ; deniers tournois of John Orsini ^r
929	238 ⁷	7 ex.	–	– ^s	–	–	–	Type O ^t ; deniers tournois of John Orsini ^u
1188–89	234 ¹	5 ex.	–	–	–	–	–	Type Q ^v ; deniers tournois of John Orsini ^w
855	246 ¹	–	–	–	–	–	2 ex. Serres ^x	Type R ^y
1191	244 ¹	2 ex.	1 ex.	–	145 n. 1	–	–	Type S, <i>DOC 5.2:922</i> ^z

Table 2.—*continued*

Salonica Hoard Concordance							
Ruler	Type	Specimen	Type Bendall 1984	Specimen Bendall 1984	Specimen Longuet 1960	Overstruck on Type	Die Linked with
Uncertain	U	66	23	23	24	—	—
John II Orsini	IOAa	67	24	24A	26		
	Type Uncertain	68	24	24B	27		
	IOB 2	69	24	24C	28		
		70	24	24D	/		
Uncertain deniers tournois		71	—	—	—	—	—
Later Additions to the Hoard							
Andronikos III	P	72	26	26	—	Uncertain	—
		73	27	27	—	—	—

- a Dochev, *Tŭrnovo XI* (see n. 85 below).
- b D. Razmovska-Baceva, "Circulation of Coins of the Paleologi in the Ohrid Region," *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* 3 (1999): 119–38; M. Oikonomidou, I. Touratsoglou, and I. Tsourti, "Συμβολή στην έρευνα της κυκλοφορίας των βυζαντινών νομισματικών στην Ήπειρο (1204–1332)," in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτατο της Ηπείρου*, ed. E. Chrysos (Arta, 1990), 104; eidem, "Late Byzantine Coins from the Numismatic Collection in the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural and Historic Monuments and the Museum of Ohrid" (Macedonian with English summary), *Lychnid* 6 (1988): 117–27; Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," Ohrid 897.
- c Numbers in this column refer to the coins described, weighed, and measured by Bendall in his article. See the footnotes in each column for the other examples of which he later became aware, viz., the USA and Munich portions of the hoard.
- d 8 USA, 1 Munich. Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 274.
- e 10 USA, 1 Munich. Ibid.
- f Ibid., 277.
- g 2 USA, 1 Munich. Ibid., 274.
- h Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- i N. Zikos, "Η κυκλοφορία των παλαιολογείων νομισμάτων στην ανατολική Μακεδονία και Θράκη μέσα από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα," *Οβολός* 4 (2000): 233–41, 236.
- j 2 USA, 1 Munich. Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 274.
- k One example was present in the USA portion of the hoard, considered by Bendall to be an intruder.
- l Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- m Zikos, "Κυκλοφορία," 236.
- n Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- o Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," 143 n. 3, figs. 334–35.
- p C. Morisson, "Monnaies de l'époque des Paléologue provenant de Prilep (Macédoine)," *Bulletin de la Société française de numismatique* 28 (1973): 437–41.
- q Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- r Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," no. 344–53, see pl. LVII.
- s The UK portion of the hoard contained one example, the USA portion three, and the Munich portion one. As Bendall ("Thessalonican Trachea," 275) considered these coins to be intruders they were not included in the catalogue.
- t Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- u Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," 143 n. 6, figs. 364–65.
- v Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- w Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," 143–42 n. 1, fig. 313.
- x P. Protonotarios, "John V Palaiologos and Anna of Savoy in Thessalonike (1351–1365): The Serres Hoard," *Nomismatika Chronika* 8 (1989): nos. 4–5.
- y Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.
- z Ibid.
- aa Ibid.
- bb Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," 143 n. 5, figs. 350–51.

Specimens known from outside the hoard								
DOC 5.2	LPC	Dochev 1992 ^a	Ohrid ^b	Bendall 2001 ^c	Penčev 2003	Bendall 2007 (Hoard 2)	Other Specimens	Overstrikes Outside of the Salonica Hoard
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
927	236 ⁶	–	1 ex.	–	143 n. 1	–	Prilep	DOC 5.2:765 ^{aa} ; deniers tournois of John Orsini ^{bb}
–	224 ³²	7 ex.	1 ex.	–	–	–	–	–

Before moving on to a reevaluation of the hoard, let us examine the denominations. The only coins that can be easily identified are the deniers tournois, mostly of John II Orsini of Epiros. The Byzantine coins are more problematic. In his publication of the hoard Bendall stated that all of the Byzantine coins were trachea.¹⁶ In volume five of the *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (DOC), Philip Grierson identified these coins as probably a mixture of trachea¹⁷

16 Bendall ("Salonica Hoard," 155) uses the term stamena. Longuet merely described the differences in shape when discussing individual coins, making no attempt to distinguish between denominations.

17 Often called stamena (sg. stamenon) by the Byzantines. Grierson (DOC 5.1:28, 32) considered stamenon and trachy to have been synonymous in the mid-fourteenth century, with one term being favored by Westerners, the other perhaps by Byzantines, although he notes that the word trachy probably entered the Western vocabulary through witnessing the Byzantines refer to their concave copper coins as such. Evidence that the two terms are synonymous comes from the mathematical treatise of Nicholas Rhabdas, produced in 1341, and the early fourteenth-century accounts of Pegolotti. Rhabdas states that 1/26th of a carat was worth two-thirds of a trachy, while Pegolotti records that two-thirds of a stamenon was worth 1/24th of a carat. For Nicholas Rhabdas see P. Tannery, "Notice sur les deux lettres arithmétiques de Nicolas Rhabdas (texte grec et traduction)," in idem, *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. 4, *Sciences exactes chez les Byzantins, 1884–1919*, ed. J. L. Heiberg (Toulouse and Paris, 1920), 61–198; for Pegolotti see Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA, 1936).

and assaria;¹⁸ he concluded that some of the coins had been bent during striking, but thought that others, only slightly curved, had been struck with curved dies.¹⁹ Trachea were originally billon coins of concave shape introduced by Alexios I (r. 1081–1118), while assaria were flat copper coins introduced by Andronikos II as replacement for the tetarteron. Initially the billon trachea measured 25 mm in diameter with a weight of approximately ⅓ g, while assaria measured 20–22 mm and weighed ca. 1.5–2.5 g. The original silver content of the trachy coinage (6%) had vanished by the end of the twelfth century; apart from trace impurities, the coins struck by the Palaiologoi were entirely copper.²⁰ Furthermore the weight and size of the trachy coinage became less consistent, further blurring the distinction between the trachy and the assarion. It was thought that trachea disappeared in the 1350s or 1360s,²¹ but Bendall has recently argued for an earlier date with respect to the Thessalonike mint, placing the end of concave coinage in

18 DOC 5.1:169. Earlier in the commentary, however, he stated that the assarion was no longer struck at Thessalonike at this time.

19 Ibid.

20 The amount of silver contained in each coin, even at the height of the coinage, was so low that it is not useful for a visual identification of the denomination. Analysis in S. Bendall and P. J. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage, 1282–1453* ([London], 1979), 24–30 has shown that by the time of Michael VIII at the latest any silver found in a trachy was included only as an accidental trace element.

21 DOC 5.1:53.

the last years of the reign of Andronikos II or the early years of Andronikos III.²² This convincing argument would make the majority of the coins contained in the hoard assaria. As Grierson noted, the only real difference between Palaiologan trachea and assaria was the concavity of the former, and by the time the trachy coinage was abandoned and the majority of the coins found in the Salonica hoard were struck, this concavity was so slight that the two coinages must have been largely indistinguishable.²³ A close examination of the coins supports Bendall's argument that the mint of Thessalonike ceased striking trachea early in the fourteenth century. The concavity found on the coins of the hoard is slight and irregular, and some of the curvature, especially in coins dated to the very end of the period, was most likely caused by an accident during striking or subsequent damage. An example is coin 58, which shows a certain amount of curvature—despite this damage the coin was clearly intended to be flat.

The possible trachea are coins 1 and 2, although all are difficult to identify with certainty because of their poor condition. Coin 1 was struck, turned over, and struck again, which would seem to be a rather tricky thing to do to a curved coin. Coin 2 was struck with a single die; the obverse is missing. Coins 6, 10, and 11 might be trachea. Coins 6 and 10 have a slight curve to the fabric, as does coin 11 (which is very badly damaged so a definite identification is difficult). Coins 5 and 9 can be more firmly identified as trachea. The angel on the obverse of coin 5, although highly damaged, has the elongated, squashed face frequently seen on figures when the strikes are badly aligned. The reverse of the same coin demonstrates the strong central and weaker edge striking seen on some curved coins.²⁴ This quality is also visible on the reverse of coin 9, but sadly the

obverse is almost completely obliterated. Even if all of these observations are taken as proof that the aforementioned coins are trachea, we cannot definitively say that all of the early coins are trachea and all of the later assaria. The precise ordering becomes more definite for the later coins, but there is a good case to be made (see below) that coins 3 and 4 and coins 7 and 8 fall between the trachea. It does seem likely that the trachea all belong to the earliest issues in the hoard while all of the later issues are assaria. Thus while it is possible that some of the coins found in the hoard are trachea (and others might have been intended as trachea but are indistinguishable from assaria), the largest part, likely the great majority, of the coins in the Salonica hoard is made up of assaria.

As stated earlier, alterations have been made to the ordering of issues within the hoard, as well as one iconographic reidentification, which clears up an issue of minting practice although it does not add to the debate on chronology. The iconography of type M (Bendall 15) has always been puzzling. In his 1980 publication Bendall noted that four identical reverses (showing a standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross and a scepter with a *manus Dei* above) had been paired with three different obverses: the Virgin orans on coins 14 and 15, a military saint on coin 16, and a different type of military saint on coin 17. As noted earlier, such duplication, let alone triplication, was highly out of character. Grierson believed that M corresponded to *DOC* 5.2:922, which has a bust of St. Demetrios on the obverse and a seated, rather than standing, emperor on the reverse, solving the problem of repetition.²⁵ Bendall has argued strongly against this position, correctly pointing out that in the Dumbarton Oaks coins the emperor is shown seated, whereas on the coins from the hoard he is clearly standing.²⁶ Thus we are left with the same problem: three different obverses paired with one reverse. On closer inspection, however, I believe that there is a simple explanation for the repetition of obverse design, namely, there is no such repetition. The individual represented on the obverse of coins 14 and 15 is not the Virgin, but a military saint wearing armor. This leaves open the possibility that coins 14–16 form one type and that coin 17, which replicates the imperial image but shows a slightly different military saint, is in fact a variant.

22 Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 268. Bendall notes that the hoard that he published in 2001, which dated to the very first years of Andronikos III's reign, contained only concave coins, while the Salonica hoard, which is dated later, is made up mostly of flat coins.

23 *DOC* 5.1:54. This is clearly a problem with the coins in the hoard, as "... the difference between flat and slightly concave coins is so small that it is difficult to believe that users could have distinguished between them, especially since the coins are smaller than trachea elsewhere and, even where concavity exists, are much less concave." *Ibid.*, 169.

24 See F. Delamare, P. Montmitonnet, and C. Morrisson, "A Mechanical Approach to Coin Striking: Application to the Study of Byzantine Gold Solidi," *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, vol. 2, ed. W. A. Oddy (London, 1988), 41–53.

25 *DOC* 5.2:170.

26 Bendall, "Palaeologan Notes," 305.

The composition of the hoard follows a similar pattern to other Balkan copper hoards of the period. As Bendall noted, these usually contain a small number of older, worn coins and a larger number of better preserved, later coins, many often struck over older designs—often those immediately preceding—or struck two or three years before the latest type.²⁷

I propose a number of changes to the chronological order of types in the hoard. The nature of the evidence means that these changes are best presented beginning with the final types in the hoard, then working backward in time. The chronological sequence within the hoard ends with types attributed to the reign of John V. The mint of Thessalonike almost certainly closed down during the Zealot period of 1342 to 1349; Bendall argued this convincingly in 1980 using the evidence of the Pella hoard published in 1977.²⁸ Since Bendall made these arguments about overstriking and style, they have been reinforced by the discovery of a hoard in Serres consisting of thirty-one coins depicting John V and Anna of Savoy, three in the style of the coinage of Andronikos III, and two blanks.²⁹

The Zealot interlude must mean that any coins showing John V date to the very beginning of his reign, during the early phase of the great civil war between the regency in Constantinople and John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347–1354). This limits the window in which these coins could have been created to a matter of months. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this difficult period in the history of Thessalonike, and of Byzantium as a whole, produced a series of coins that are difficult to understand. These coins show that the care with which the mint of Thessalonike avoided duplicating designs came to an end following the sudden death of Andronikos III. It was not only the obverse designs that caused trouble for the mint, however; the imperial image also seems to have presented some difficulties. The first coin that we can date to the new emperor is R, dated to 1341, which clearly mimics the accession issue of Andronikos III

(D) struck almost two decades before.³⁰ This coin replicates the St. Demetrios as seen on P, one of the last issues of Andronikos III. Type S maintained the image of St. Demetrios from the accession issue, but replaced the kneeling emperor with two imperial figures holding a patriarchal cross between them. Tommaso Bertelè identified these two figures as Andronikos II and Andronikos III, Longuet proposed Anna of Savoy and John V, Bendall thought that no positive identification could be made,³¹ and even John VI and John V have been suggested.³² Dismissing the idea that the left-hand figure could be Anna of Savoy, Grierson identified the two figures as Andronikos II and Andronikos III based on observations of examples in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and the readings of Bertelè.³³ The Dumbarton Oaks examples are all badly worn on the right side, the side that is in the best condition on examples in the Salonika hoard.³⁴ I believe that the inscription identifying the right-hand figure corresponds to the first four letters of Ioannes followed by a delta, ΙΩΑΝΔ, resolvable to Ioannes despotes. The hoard examples provide no such easy identification for the other imperial figure. The visible inscription reads AN, which could be Andronikos or Anna. Based on Grierson's assessment of the Dumbarton Oaks examples, these coins could show John V with a posthumous representation of his father, or they could show John V and his mother.³⁵

30 Although the iconography of the coin of Andronikos II was copied, the styles of the two coins are very different, that of John V being far cruder than the coin of his father. It should also be noted that this example of R was struck over a coin of P, and another is known that was struck over a specimen of Q. Both P and Q are known to have been struck over the denier tournois of John II Orsini, which helps date the coin of John V to after the mid-1330s.

31 Bendall ("Salonica Hoard," 152) points out that all of the coins from Constantinople dating to the joint reign of John V and John VI depict the two emperors as of equal height.

32 T. Bertelè, unpublished dossier of photographs (n.d.), 78bis, from version archived at Dumbarton Oaks; Longuet, "Monnaies des Palaeologues," nos. 10 and 12; Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 152.

33 *DOC* 5.1:160; 5.2 nos. 855–56.

34 Catalogue nos. 59 and 60.

35 As Bendall noted, if the coin depicts Anna and John it could date to the end of the reign of Andronikos III rather than the minority of John V. On the other hand, the coin does neatly depict the regency in Constantinople, and it is catalogued here under that assumption.

27 Bendall ("Thessalonican Trachea," 270) notes that in the thirteenth century coins are usually struck over those of the same emperor, and this in a period of short reigns, even though we know that older coins remained in circulation for some decades.

28 D. Nicol and S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 6.19 (1977): 87–102.

29 P. N. Protonotarios, "John V and Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica (1351–1365): The Serres Hoard," *AJNum*, Second Series 2 (1990): 119–28.

A portrait of the recently deceased Andronikos III could also explain another issue of John V (T).³⁶ On the reverse of these coins we see two standing figures—a tall bearded emperor on the right and a shorter, beardless emperor on the left—but no inscription.³⁷ Due to the small number of these coins in the hoard and the apparent lack of wear, it seems reasonable to conclude that they are among the most recent of the coins in the hoard and to identify the figures as the recently deceased Andronikos III and his son John V.³⁸ The mint of Thessalonike could have been using a similar iconography in these two types to that seen on the Constantinopolitan hyperpyra of the regency government of Anna of Savoy, which depict a standing archangel on the obverse and the deceased Andronikos III next to the young John V on the reverse.³⁹ This seems to be the final coin type represented in the hoard. This assertion is supported by evidence from outside of the hoard, namely, one example each of S over R and T over S.⁴⁰

It could be argued that all of these coins actually belong to the reign of Andronikos III. Nevertheless I have ordered the coins in the catalogue following Grierson's assumption that Andronikos III was depicted alongside his son on the coinage of Thessalonike only after his death. Moving these coins to the reign of Andronikos III does not solve the issue of the obverse types. The number of designs with repeated obverses could have been the result of the political instability in Constantinople following Andronikos's death along with a certain initiative on the part of the authorities in Thessalonike, who initially followed tradition

in striking an accession issue for the new emperor but quickly changed designs as they became aware of the official numismatic policies of the regency government. Such a mixture of ad hoc and official designs could also explain the preservation of the St. Demetrios type in spite of what seems to have been the prevailing practices of the mint until this point. I can think of no other explanation if the coins are attributed to the reign of Andronikos III.⁴¹

The Salonika hoard contains most but not all of the types attributed to Andronikos III. The number of types exceeds the number of years that Andronikos reigned, calling into question the idea of annual types, although it is likely that some of the increased numbers can be explained either by the virtually indistinguishable natures of the assarion and trachy or by the moving of some of the earlier types into the reign of Andronikos II. We are very sure of the chronology of the hoard and the denomination in the period toward the end of Andronikos III's reign and I have followed Bendall in placing P and Q next in sequence before R, S, and T. Two specimens of Q are found struck over P, and, as mentioned earlier, P shares an iconographic link with the first issues of John V.⁴² It is with L, M, N, and O that my ordering differs from that found in the earlier catalogues. O and P are clearly linked by the two mules found in the hoard. Coin 37 has a P obverse and an O reverse, while coin 38 has an O obverse and a P reverse. Thus O and the two mules have been moved to a place immediately before P. This contradicts Bendall's argument that O must be one of the earliest issues of Andronikos III in Thessalonike. He makes this argument based on the clean, flat flans free of previous types, and asserts that the relatively high-quality blanks were part of an effort by the mint to get the

36 Bendall ("Salonica Hoard," 152) possessed an example of T struck over a coin of S, cementing the chronology of these coins.

37 Bendall (*ibid.*) points out that these coins could simply depict the living Andronikos III with his son John V, rather than the recently deceased Andronikos.

38 It can be ruled out that these figures are John VI and John V. The mint of Thessalonike ceased striking coins before the civil war between these two emperors that ended in their sharing power. Even after the end of the civil war the city remained in the hands of the Zealots. Following the recovery of Thessalonike by John VI, the style of the coins produced there varied greatly from what had come before, which rules out a date for these coins in the 1350s. As Bendall noted in 1980, the Pella hoard of mostly coins of Anna of Savoy contains no overstrikes, suggesting a hiatus in coin production during Zealot rule.

39 *DOC* 5.2: nos. 942–43, for discussion see *DOC* 5.1:176–77.

40 Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205.

41 I admit that this theory would be more convincing if the St. Demetrios in question corresponded to the final issue of Andronikos III rather than the penultimate type.

42 Although an example of P is known to have been struck over B, there are three pieces of evidence that support a date later in the reign of Andronikos III: a coin firmly identified as belonging to Andronikos II (*DOC* 5.2: no. 765; see Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205); the more frequent overstrikes on deniers tournois of John II Orsini (four in the hoard, twelve more in V. Penčev, "Hoard of 13th–14th Century Copper (Billon) Coins from Vidin," *Numismatica & Epigraphica* 1 [2003]: 143, no. 5, figs. 350–51); and the iconographic link to the coinage of John V.

assarion, replacing the trachy at this time, off to a good start.⁴³ This is only a plausible date if the evidence of the two mules is discounted, but the argument that for some reason the mint made an extra effort with O is reasonable. The conclusion that Q and O fall close together is supported by the discovery of a specimen of Q struck over an example of O.⁴⁴

Type N must remain close to P as it contains an overstrike on a coin of John Orsini in the hoard, and another eight are known.⁴⁵ Of the eight coins in the hoard struck over deniers *tournois* bearing John Orsini's name, seven are of types P and Q. Therefore N must fall close to, but before P.⁴⁶ Outside of the hoard a large number of types N, P, and Q are found struck over deniers *tournois* of John Orsini.⁴⁷ Vladimir Penčev records an example of R over a *denier tournois*, further linking P, Q, and N to the first coins of John V.⁴⁸ A specimen of P (coin 48) was struck over an example of M, suggesting that it falls next in the sequence. I would suggest that L follows because coin 22 is struck over an earlier example of Andronikos III, placing L at least part way into the reign.⁴⁹ This leaves E, G, H, I, J, and K to be labeled as early Andronikos III.⁵⁰ Grierson

argued that D was a coronation issue of Andronikos III, which has been disputed by Bendall;⁵¹ as there is to date no firm conclusion I have chosen to leave this coin as the first in the sequence of Andronikos III. Type F might belong to the reign of Andronikos II—Bendall has argued that it is similar both in style and design to Andronikos II (*DOC* 5:821–24) and thus belongs closer to it.⁵² As an example of F in the hoard is found struck over an earlier coin of Andronikos II (*DOC* 5:770), this is not impossible, but I have chosen to leave it in the reign of Andronikos III until further evidence is discovered.

The question of the date of type C remains. It is clear from its fabric and design that it belongs in the reign of Andronikos II.⁵³ It shows a bearded senior emperor, Andronikos II, crowning a beardless junior emperor, who is unidentified. Bendall has concluded that the most likely candidate is Andronikos III.⁵⁴ His explanation for the beardlessness, unique on coins depicting the two emperors, is that the mint at Thessalonike struck this type before realizing that the two emperors were partners.⁵⁵ This is an intriguing possibility and one that narrows down the possible dates. Either the coin commemorated (1) the initial coronation of Andronikos III in 1316, (2) the period when the two emperors divided the empire between them, June–December 1321, (3) the final settlement of July 1322 when both emperors agreed to rule jointly, or (4) Andronikos III's second coronation in Hagia Sophia in February 1325. A later date can be ruled out by the rebellion of John Palaiologos in Thessalonike, which lasted for most of 1326, and the resumption of the war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III in 1327.⁵⁶ Of the dates listed above a post-1321 date is the least plausible for it seems highly unlikely that Andronikos III would win a civil war against his grandfather only to be shown as the junior colleague on their

43 Bendall, "Palaeologan Overstrikes," 203–4. Another possible explanation for the apparent extra care given to this issue is that these coins were struck when Andronikos III was in Thessalonike before his campaigns against Epiros.

44 Ibid., 202.

45 Penčev, "Coins from Vidin," 143, no. 3, figs. 344–45.

46 Bendall ("Palaeologan Overstrikes") records an example of N struck over another specimen (*DOC* 5.2: no. 780), which dates to the joint reign of Andronikos II and Michael IX. There is obviously no problem with the idea of a coin dated 1294/95–1320 circulating in the 1330s, and the coin of John Orsini must be taken as the prime dating criterion. The same can be said of the example Bendall quotes of P struck over B.

47 Penčev, "Coins from Vidin": N has eight examples, p. 143, no. 3, figs. 334–35; P twelve examples, p. 143, no. 5, figs. 350–51; Q sixteen examples, p. 143, no. 6, figs. 364–65.

48 Ibid., 142–43, no. 1, fig. 314. Penčev identifies these coins as D, not R. The lack of a reverse inscription and the presence of a haloed cross above the emperor suggest, however, that they belong to the reign of John V and not that of Andronikos III.

49 This does not contradict Bendall's suggestion ("Palaeologan Overstrikes," 205) that because an example of this type is found struck over another coin (*DOC* 5.2: no. 833) it should be moved to the early part of Andronikos III's reign.

50 Of these types the only one with a recorded overstrike is F, struck over a coin (*DOC* 5.2: no. 770) belonging to the reign of Andronikos II.

51 Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 262.

52 Ibid., 271.

53 One overstrike is known over *DOC* 5.2: no. 825 from earlier in the reign of Andronikos II.

54 Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 277, based on both an example overstruck on a coin of *DOC* 5.2: nos. 809–10 type and the rather striking dissimilarities between this type and all of those firmly attributed to the joint reign of Andronikos II and Michael IX.

55 Ibid., 267–68.

56 For the strife between the Andronikoi see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (Cambridge, 1993), 152–61.

coins; in fact, as noted above, this was certainly not the case on every coin firmly attributable to the joint reign. Likewise the idea that the mint of Thessalonike did not understand the exact arrangements in the capital and so made a mistake seems unlikely as Thessalonike had sided with Andronikos III and was under the control of his partisans. We can also rule out such a mistake for Andronikos III's second coronation in 1325. By this point the joint rule was almost four years old and the mint of Thessalonike surely knew about it. This leaves just two options for when it is possible that the mint of Thessalonike could have portrayed Andronikos III as a beardless junior emperor: June–December 1321, when Thessalonike fell within Andronikos II's jurisdiction, or the initial coronation of Andronikos III in 1316. Unfortunately without further evidence the question must remain unanswered.

If we accept the arguments presented above about the order in which the coins found in the Salonica hoard were struck, then the dates range from the latter years of Andronikos II to the first months of John V. The issues of John V must have been struck in 1341/42. Type Q must have been struck in the months leading up to Andronikos's death in 1341, with P, O, and N stretching back over the preceding three years to 1337/38.⁵⁷

The Deniers Tournois of John II Orsini

All of the deniers tournois in the hoard, either intact specimens or overstruck, bear the name of John II Orsini, despot of Epiros. John rose to power in Epiros in 1323 when he overthrew his brother Nicholas Orsini.⁵⁸ In 1328 he was granted the title of despot by the Byzantine emperor, before being forced into a vassal relationship by the Princes of Achaia in 1330/31.⁵⁹ At some point during his reign John struck deniers tournois at his capital of Arta. Building upon the work of A. P. Tzamalēs, Julian Baker split the coinage of John Orsini into a number of broad types: IOA, IOB 1, IOB 2, and a final type that is distinguished by its crude nature and low quality.⁶⁰ The

exact date when John Orsini began striking coins is not known. Baker believes that he had certainly started before becoming an Achaian vassal.⁶¹ It is not known, as Bendall has proposed, whether he waited to be officially accorded the rank of despot before he struck coins claiming the title.⁶² Although the exact start and end dates for minting are impossible to determine, Baker posited that the final, scruffy issue of Artan deniers tournois was probably distributed to cover the expenses of John Orsini's campaign to conquer Thessaly.⁶³ This campaign began around 1332 and though initially successful John had been forced back into Epiros by the time of his death in 1337, perhaps as early as 1333.⁶⁴ Although the final issue of Artan deniers tournois seems to have been shunned by the Frankish inhabitants of the southern Balkans, who produced their own superior, local coins, it was widely spread throughout the eastern Balkans.⁶⁵ The questions that remain to be answered are how and when these coins arrived in Thessalonike.

In his illustration of the overstrikes in the hoard Bendall depicted IOA type, but Baker questioned whether this could be taken as evidence that these coins actually circulated in Thessalonike.⁶⁶ From his own observations Baker deduced that one of the deniers

2002), 265, 267–68. Within each type there are a number of variations: IOA a–d, IOB 1a–c, and IOB 2a–c. It is debated whether this final type, which is found as far away from Epiros as Bulgaria, is in fact made up of counterfeits. V. Penčev, "Monnayages imitatifs en Bulgarie au XIV^e siècle," *Numiz (Sofia)* 2 (1984): 14–30; idem, "Coins from Vidin." Baker (with Tzamalēs) believes the majority of these coins to be genuine, but suspects that they were the models for counterfeits in Bulgaria. See Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," 268; idem, "Three Fourteenth Century Coin Hoards from Apulia Containing *gigliati* and Greek *deniers tournois*," *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 102 (2001): 219–80; Penčev, "Coins from Vidin."

61 Nicol, *Epiros*, 97.

62 Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea," 272–73; Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," 267. From the evidence of John's career it would come as no surprise if he usurped the title at the same time that he took his uncle's throne, long before he was officially granted the rank by the emperor.

63 Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," 268.

64 Nicol, *Epiros*, 102–3.

65 D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, 820–1396*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 287; Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," 268. See also Penčev, "Coins from Vidin"; idem, "Monnayages imitatifs."

66 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 154; Baker, "Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy," 265 n. 18.

57 Bendall's belief that none of the coins dates to the reign of John V would push this sequence back three years.

58 D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (Cambridge, 1984), 93.

59 Ibid., 95.

60 J. R. Baker, "Coinage, Monetary Policy and Monetary Economy in Greece, 1204–ca. 1350" (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham,

tournois was of type IOB 2c.⁶⁷ I believe that there may be an IOA (coin 67) and that coins 69 and 70 may belong to the group IOB 2. On coin 69 there is clearly a cross made of three dots to the right of the castle and two circles to the left. The features flanking the cross on coin 70 are less easy to identify, but seem to be more similar in shape to IOB 2 than to any of the other subgroups of John Orsini's deniers tournois. It is not possible to determine the subgroups of any of the overstruck deniers tournois. It should be noted that the two deniers tournois that seem to be from group IOB 2 weigh significantly more than the other deniers tournois, perhaps indicating that the latter fall into the final, degraded series issued by John Orsini around the time of his military activities in Thessaly, or perhaps that they belong to the Bulgarian counterfeit series.⁶⁸ Quite a few other examples of Thessalonican coppers struck over deniers tournois of John Orsini are known, but there was only a very limited number of types—N, P (including Mule B), Q, and *LPC* 238.⁶⁹ The deniers tournois of John Orsini and the Byzantine types struck over them are frequently found in Bulgaria, where the coins of John Orsini were copied at one, possibly two mints.⁷⁰ Thus these coins may have reached Thessalonike from Bulgaria.⁷¹ While this is certainly possible I believe that an Epirote of Thessalian origin is more likely. If the deniers tournois entered Byzantium as a result of Andronikos III's actions in Bulgaria in 1330 and 1332, we would expect them to show up in the Thessalonican record earlier than is the case. If the dating arrangement outlined above is accepted, then the Byzantine overstrikes were produced at the end of Andronikos's reign and not at the beginning, that is, starting around 1337/38. By this time John Orsini's deniers tournois had been circulating in his territory, which bordered Byzantium, for almost a decade, and large numbers had almost certainly moved into Thessaly in 1332. If we look to military expeditions rather than the Byzantine intervention

in Bulgaria in the early 1330s to explain the presence of deniers tournois at the mint of Thessalonike, we should also look to the later invasion of Thessaly and Epiros by Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos. These attacks began in 1337, which based on the revised chronology is precisely when deniers tournois start to appear overstruck in Thessalonike, from where the emperor invaded Epiros and Thessaly. An Epirote origin for the deniers tournois is thus supported by the internal evidence of the hoard and by the number of higher-quality Artan tournois, which suggest a southwest Balkan, rather than a Bulgarian, origin for the coins overstruck by the mint of Thessalonike.

Fourteenth-Century Hoards of Thessalonican Copper

The Salonica hoard is not the only fourteenth-century hoard of copper coins struck at Thessalonike. In 2001 Simon Bendall published a hoard that he reconstructed from known pieces in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Munich.⁷² The hoard contained over 330 copper coins, including three tetartera, of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, of Andronikos II alone, and of Andronikos II and Michael IX.⁷³ Bendall suggested that the hoard be dated to the later 1320s, during the joint reign of Andronikos II and Andronikos III.⁷⁴ The other fourteenth-century hoard of Thessalonican copper that predates the Salonica hoard is that published by Bendall in 2007.⁷⁵ This hoard consists of thirty-five copper coins of which all but three date to the reign of Andronikos II.⁷⁶ The Salonica hoard is postdated by the Pella and the Serres hoards. The former, which probably dates to the

67 Ibid., 265; Bendall, "Palaeologan Notes," 306.

68 While not suggesting that they were counterfeits Bendall thought ("Salonica Hoard," 155) that the deniers could have come to Thessalonike from Bulgaria where Andronikos was engaged in military activity in 1330–1332.

69 See table 2 for overstrikes.

70 Penčev, "Coins from Vidin."

71 This is the possibility favored by Bendall in "Thessalonican Trachea," 272–73, and he has used it to move certain issues to the beginning of the reign of Andronikos III.

72 Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea."

73 Ibid., 257–58, nos. 1–2 for Michael VIII, 4–6 for the tetartera. Numbers 3–6 were struck in Constantinople; the rest of the hoard belonged to the mint of Thessalonike.

74 Ibid., 273. Some coins of Andronikos III were found in the hoard, but Bendall considered these to be intruders. These are of *DOC* 5.2: nos. 929 (four coins), and 930 (one coin) types. The rearrangement of the coins suggested in this article agrees with Bendall's identification of at least the four examples of no. 929 as intruders. With respect to the single example of 930, which is a coin dated early in the reign of Andronikos III, it would be odd for such a lone specimen to be legitimately in the hoard.

75 Bendall, "Palaeologan Notes."

76 The remaining three belong to the reign of Michael VIII (*DOC* 5.2: nos. 686, 689, and 694).

Table 3.

Type ^a	Bendall 2001	Bendall 2007	Salonica Hoard	Pella Hoard	Serres Hoard
Michael VIII					
203–5	X				
174–75	X				
Andronikos II					
568	X				
570	X				
677–80	X				
686–88		X			
689		X			
693–93a	X				
694–97		X			
701–4	X				
729		X			
734–35		X			
745–48	X				
760–64		X			
765	X	X	X		
766–69	X				
770		X			
771–73	X	X			
774–77	X	X			
778–79	X	X			
780–83	X	X			
784–85	X	X			
786–88	X				
789–92	X				
793–97	X				
798–800	X	X	X		
804–8	X				X
809–10	X				
811–15	X	X	X		
821–24	X				
Coin 90–91	X				
825–32	X	X			
S 2392	X				
840–44	X				
846–48	X	X			
849–51	X				
928		X			

Table 3.—*continued*

Type ^a	Bendall 2001	Bendall 2007	Salonica Hoard	Pella Hoard	Serres Hoard
Andronikos III					
913–17	X		X		
918	X				
S 2486	X				
931–32	X		X		
930			X		
935			X		
936–40	X				
LPC 206 ⁴					X
LPC 242 ¹⁵				X	X
933			X		
921			X		
919–20			X		
927			X		
929			X		
John V and Anna of Savoy					
1188–89			X		
855			X		X
1191			X		
1192				X	X
LPC 246 ²				X	X
LPC 248 ¹				X	
LPC 248 ²				X	X (obverse and reverse)
LPC 248 ³				X	
LPC 250 ⁴				X	X (reverse only)
LPC 250 ⁵				X	X (obverse only)

a Unless stated otherwise coin type numbers refer to *DOC* 5.2.

1350s, is made up of eight assaria, one belonging to the reign of Andronikos III, the other seven to the reign of John V and Anna of Savoy.⁷⁷ The latter is much larger: thirty-four coins, of which three are from the reign of Andronikos III, two from the reign of John V before the Zealot revolt in Thessalonike, twenty-nine from after the restoration of Byzantine control, and two blanks.⁷⁸ The

worn nature of the pre-Zealot coins along with the great variety of the later coinage suggest a later date for this hoard than the Pella hoard, viz., sometime in the 1360s.⁷⁹ Table 3 lists the types found in each hoard.⁸⁰

8 (1989): 69–84.

79 Ibid., 84.

80 Not included are the new types discovered by Bendall in 2001, coins 143–47, all dated to the reign of Andronikos III but without clues as to when in the reign they should be placed, and the Anna of Savoy and John V Type II coins of Protonotarios, which do not overlap with the Pella hoard. These coins are made up of a mixture of obverse and reverse types that does not lend itself to classification

77 D. Nicol and S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 19 (1977): 87–102.

78 P. Protonotarios, "John V Palaiologos and Anna of Savoy in Thessaloniki (1351–1365): The Serres Hoard," *Nomismatika Chronika*

As can be seen, there is very little overlap between the two later hoards and the Salonica hoard.⁸¹ The Pella hoard contains one coin of Andronikos III, although not of a type represented in the Salonica hoard, while the Serres hoard contains a number of coins of Andronikos III, as well as three different types of the pre-Zealot coinage of John V. The lack of overlap is to be expected when one considers the length of the gap in minting of at least nine years that followed the seizure of power by the Zealots. The existence of these pre-Zealot coins of John V in both the Salonica and the much later Serres hoards helps support their place at the end of the chronological sequence of the former hoard. The 2001 and 2007 hoards published by Bendall align quite well: of the sixteen types found in the 2007 hoard, eleven are also found in the 2001 hoard.⁸² The same cannot be said for the Salonica hoard, however, where overlap is minimal, limited to those coins that have been earlier identified as belonging to either the latter part of Andronikos II's reign or the early part of the reign of his grandson. This is not surprising as there was probably at least a fourteen-year gap between the two earlier hoards and the Salonica hoard. The Salonica hoard partially bridges the gap between the two earlier and the two later hoards.

The Weights and Sizes of the Coins in the Salonica Hoard

Weights and sizes are frequently used to date coins and determine denominations. In 1988 Bendall arranged the copper coinage of Thessalonike according to declining size, with the earlier coins having a diameter of ca. 25 mm declining to ca. 17 mm by the 1340s.⁸³ In doing so he rearranged the chronology of many types, although without drawing a line between the coins of Andronikos II and Andronikos III.⁸⁴ With respect

in this table, but was believed by Protonotarios to date later than the type I coins found in the Pella hoard.

81 There is, however, quite a lot of overlap between the Pella and Serres hoards.

82 The types are: Andronikos II and Michael IX (*DOC* 5.2: nos. 765, 771–73, 774–77, 778–79, 780–83), Andronikos II alone (*ibid.*: nos. 784–85, 798–800, 811–15, 825–32, 828, 846–48).

83 S. Bendall, *A Private Collection of Palaeologan Coins* (Wolverhampton, 1988), 45 (henceforth *PCPC*). Bendall also noted that there are fewer legends on the later issues.

84 Grierson believed that the divide could not fall after *PCPC* no. 237, the final coin of Andronikos II and Michael IX, as this

to the Salonica hoard, size is unhelpful (fig. 1). All of the coins but two have diameters of between 17 and 23 mm—the exceptions are coin 60 (type S, 14 mm) and coin 67 (a denier tournois, 15 mm). Even if we discount those types that cannot be firmly dated owing to overstrikes and style, which leaves just the oldest and newest coins, the average diameter of the coins of Andronikos II (type A, 18 mm; B, 19 mm; and C, 18 mm) do not vary greatly from those of John V (type R, 21 mm; S, 17.5 mm; and T, 18 mm), with most of the coins of Andronikos III having an equal or greater diameter than those of his grandfather. In fact, of the fourteen types assigned to Andronikos III only one has a lower average diameter (J, 17 mm) than types A–C, while all of the remaining thirteen have an average diameter greater than types A and C.⁸⁵

It cannot be said that there is a great difference in the range of sizes among the types. If we discard E–K, the exact date and sequence of which we are not sure, then A–C (late Andronikos II) can be seen to have a roughly similar size range, 12–24 mm, as R–T (John V, 12–23 mm). Types L, M, N, O, and Q are notable for the much smaller range of sizes found in the surviving examples (17–21 mm, 17–20 mm, 19–20 mm, 17–22 mm, and 17–22 mm, respectively), perhaps indicating a period of increased effort in terms of consistency at the Thessalonike mint.⁸⁶ It is interesting that this span of more consistent types includes O, which, as noted earlier, could be linked to an attempt to increase the quality of the fabric used for the coinage. Sadly until more examples of the types struck between the end of the reign of Andronikos II and the final five

would leave too many coins for the short reign of Andronikos III. To explain the great number of coins showing a lone, bearded emperor Grierson proposed (*DOC* 5.1:169) that the Thessalonican mint continued to strike coins depicting Andronikos II alone during his joint reign with Michael IX.

85 Bendall himself was puzzled by the small size of coin 2 (B), which must date from the joint reign of Andronikos II and Michael IX, making it one of the earliest datable coins in the hoard. Data have been taken from the Salonica hoard; the Dumbarton Oaks collection; the Serres hoard; Protonotarios, “Serres Hoard”; and the excavation finds from Trnovo (K. Dochev, *Moneti i parichno obrushtenie v Tŭrnovo XII–XIV v.* [Veliko Tŭrnovo, 1992]).

86 Data for this graph come from the Salonica hoard; the Dumbarton Oaks collection; the collection of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham; Penčev, “Coins from Vidin”; the Serres hoard; Protonotarios, “Serres Hoard”; and the excavation finds from Trnovo (Dochev, *Tŭrnovo*).

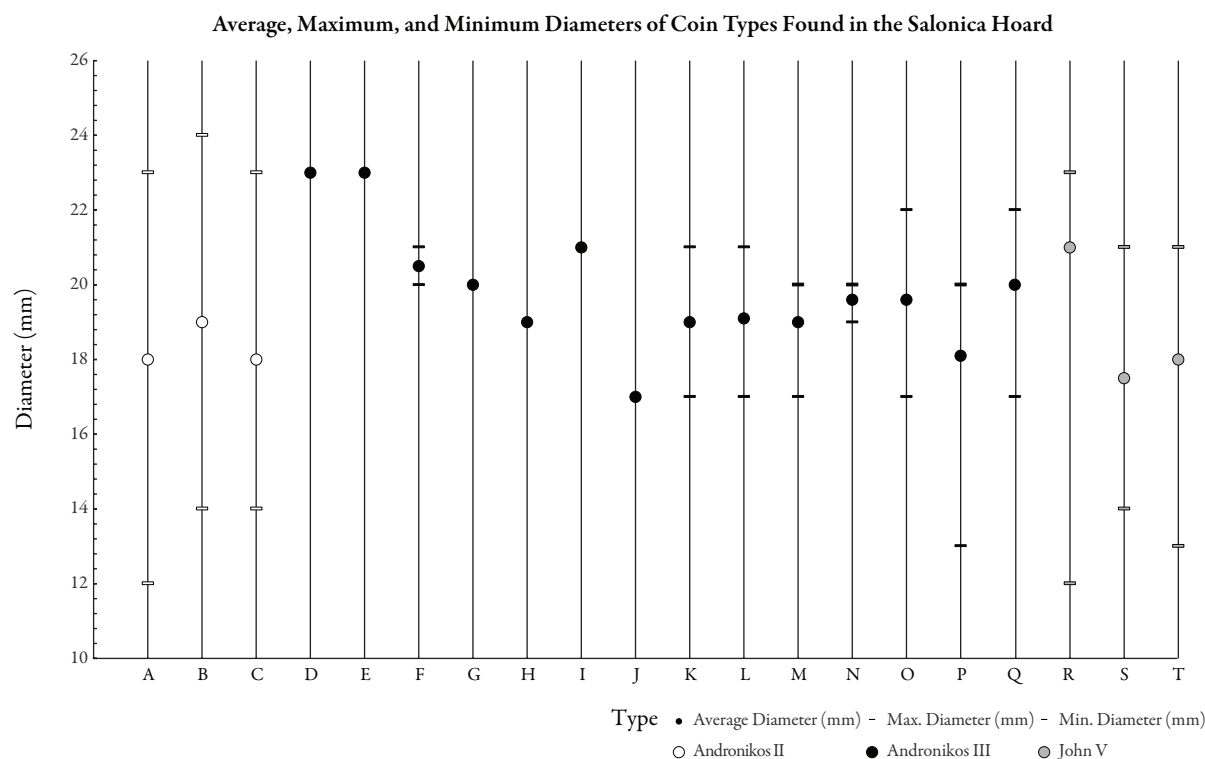


FIG. 1 Average, maximum, and minimum diameters of coin types found in the Salonica hoard (chart by author)

years of Andronikos III are discovered, size seems to be unhelpful when trying to arrange the coins from the mint of Thessalonike for which we have no other dating criteria, although we suggest that K conforms to the pattern set out by the later coins of Andronikos III.

The weights of the coin types in the hoard are similarly grouped around a narrow set of values, with two-thirds falling between 1.03 g and 1.4 g, as can be seen in figure 2, where the minimum, average, and maximum weight for each type is marked.⁸⁷ We can see a general rise in the average weight of types C–G (1.14 g to 2.03 g), followed by a sudden drop with H (0.9 g) and then a relatively consistent average weight through to the end of minting in Thessalonike ca. 1342. This could suggest a change in policy during the reign of Andronikos III, and perhaps a conscious effort by the mint to maintain roughly consistent weights. Without a greater

sample size, particularly of E and G, any conclusions must remain tentative. It is perhaps worth remarking, however, that what may have been an attempt to adhere to a consistent average weight coincides with the period of consistent diameters noted earlier. Of the three types attributed to John V, none of the average weights falls noticeably below those of the coins of his great grandfather. As a result the average weights of coins from the beginning of the period covered by the hoard is not significantly different from that at the end, although there is a lack of consistency. Averages generally fall within a narrow range, but the difference between the maximum and minimum weights of a coin can reach almost 2 g. We see a change over time in the minimum and maximum weights: between the late Andronikos II coinage and the late Andronikos III and John V coinage, the minimum weights are very similar while the maximum weights are all lower for the later types.

Turning back to the Salonica hoard, the numerical distribution of types suggests that rather than representing the life savings of an individual, the hoard is a cross section of the coinage in circulation in Thessalonike in

87 Data for this graph come from the Salonica hoard; the Dumbarton Oaks collection; the collection of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham; Penčev, "Coins from Vidin"; the Serres hoard; Protonotarios, "Serres Hoard"; and the excavation finds from Trnovo (Dochev, *Tŕnovo*).

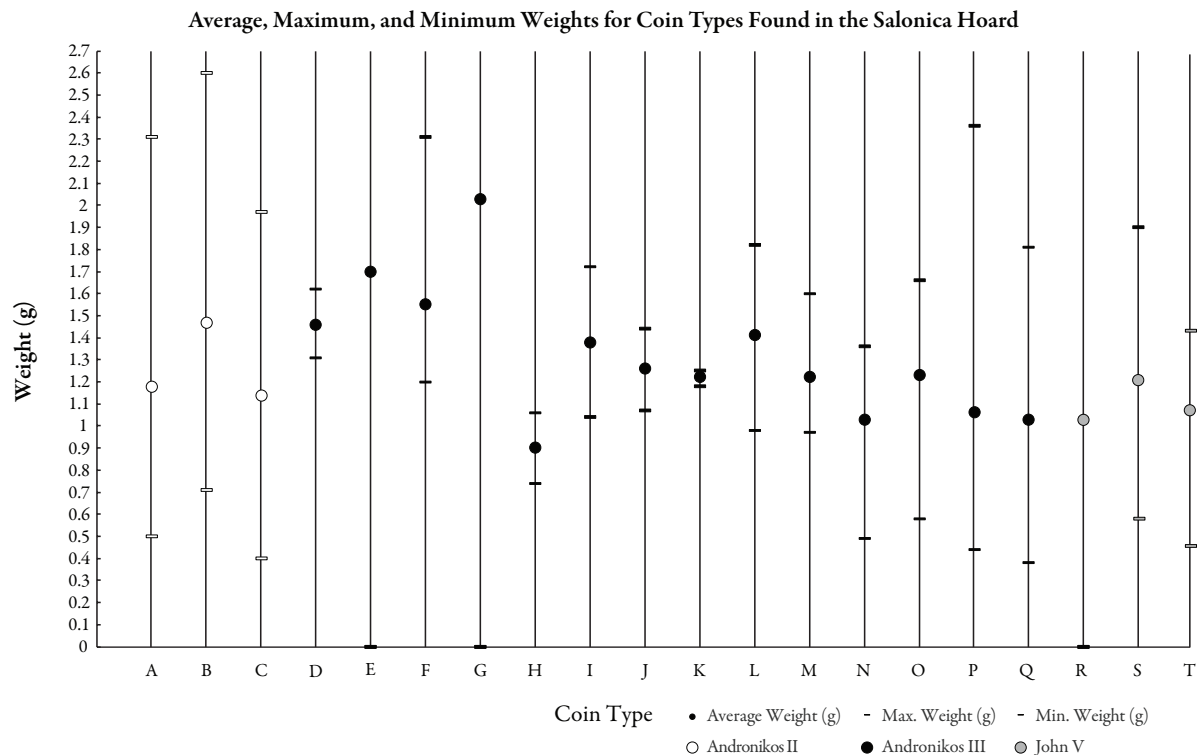


FIG. 2 Average, maximum, and minimum weights for coin types found in the Salonica hoard (chart by author)

the early 1340s.⁸⁸ Using the order outlined in the reigns of Andronikos II (white), Andronikos III (black), and John V (grey), we see the sort of uneven bell curve that we would expect if this hoard represented a circulating coinage. There are relatively few coins from the earliest period, covering a wide variety of types, and a somewhat larger number of new coins, with the largest number being recent but not brand new issues.⁸⁹ Following this pattern we would perhaps expect more coins of R and S types. That they are not present in large numbers supports the conclusions outlined above that these coins were in fact short-lived emergency issues struck when the situation and policies in Constantinople were not clear.⁹⁰

88 For a similar pattern of distribution see Bendall, "Thessalonican Trachea." In an early fourteenth-century mathematical manual a laborer's wages are recorded as ten assaria a day. K. Vogel, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1968), 69.

89 The apparent discrepancies in the curve are due to the mules and variants that number just one each and should really be grouped with the types from which they are derived, but have been kept separate to avoid confusion.

90 As noted in n. 88 above, the hoard would not have represented a great deal of money to the majority of the inhabitants of

In this paper I have made the case for reordering some of the issues within the Salonica hoard. This rearrangement makes use of the evidence from the hoard itself as well as that from other hoards of fourteenth-century Thessalonican copper coins. While not directly related to dates I have also made some suggestions about which coins may be trachea rather than assaria. It seems clear that types L–T represent most if not all of the coins struck in the final years of the reign of Andronikos III and the early months of the regency government of Anna of Savoy on behalf of John V. This dating places the entry into Thessalonike of significant numbers of deniers tournois of John II Orsini in the late 1330s—therefore probably linked to the military activities in Epiros and Thessaly starting in 1337 and not Andronikos III's earlier foray into Bulgaria—which is supported by the identification of at least two genuine Artan deniers tournois among those found in the Salonica hoard. This identification sheds a little light on the connection between Byzantine Thessalonike and Bulgaria, for as we have seen, Thessalonican coins

Thessalonike. Vogel, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch*, no. 51.

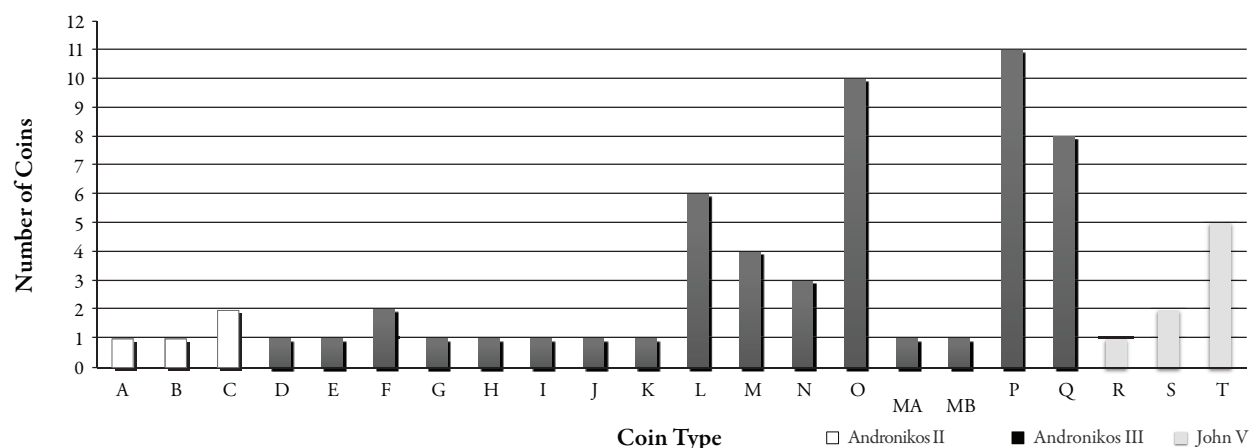


FIG. 3 Number of coins in the Salonica hoard by type (chart by author)

are found in large numbers in Bulgaria, but if we identify the deniers tournois as products of the Arta mint, not as Bulgarian imitations, we can say that the flow of currency was from Thessalonike to Bulgaria and not in the reverse direction.

The presence of higher-quality Artanbillon (not copper) tournois in the hoard raises some interesting questions. Although 90% copper, the first two issues of John Orsini (IOA, IOB) were, like their Frankish counterparts, a recognized billon coinage of greater value than assaria, which would seem to distinguish them from the copper coinage of Thessalonike into which they were incorporated. Without a serious metrological study it is impossible to determine why these two different denominations would be merged by the mint. Perhaps the deniers tournois of John Orsini were viewed as so debased that they could easily serve as copper coins. The hypothesis that types R–T belong to the confused period following the death of Andronikos III is the most plausible explanation for the repetition of the obverse designs and for the entirety of the reverse designs that must have numbered three in less than a year. Such an explanation gives us a window into the chaotic months that preceded the great civil war between John Kantakouzenos and the regency of Anna of Savoy, and the rise of the Zealots. As Bendall concluded, the Salonica hoard most likely

dates to ca. 1342, when the Byzantine government lost control of Thessalonike.

While weight and diameter have not proven to be useful in arranging the remaining types we can see in them an effort on the part of the mint during the final years of the reign of Andronikos III to control for consistency in size and perhaps average weight. This trend begins with type L, and is also noticeable in the higher-quality fabric of O. As there is no real evidence of a general decline in the quality of the coinage in terms of weight and diameter during the period covered by the Salonica hoard, it seems that although in artistic terms the coinage was not what it had once been, there was a genuine effort on the part of the mint to ensure that the other qualities of the coinage remained steady.⁹¹

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91 Between the small number of coins in the hoard and those listed in table 2 above I was able to discern four die links: coins 18 and 20 (type M); coin 24 and *DOC* 5.2: no. 919; coins 31 and 34 (type O); and coin 24 and Penčev ("Coins of Vidin") pl. LVI.329.

Salonica Hoard Catalogue

Type A—Andronikos II

Obv. Large patriarchal cross, stars in the bottom quarters

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding two haloed crosses. To left, A|N|I|K|C



1. BZC.2007.6.1

D. 18 mm, W. 0.82 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 1; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 9; *LPC* 220²⁶; *DOC* 5.2:798–800⁹²

Rev. Inscription not visible

The coin has been turned over and struck again.

Type B—Andronikos II

Obv. Six-petaled flower

Rev. Two facing emperors, Andronikos II (bearded) on the right, Michael IX (beardless) on the left. Andronikos crowns Michael with his right hand and holds a cross-scepter in his left. Michael holds a cross-scepter in his right hand and an akakia in his left



2. BZC.2007.6.2

D. 19 mm, W. 1.04 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 2; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 20; *LPC* 230⁵; *DOC* 5.2:765

Type C—Andronikos II

Originally there were three examples of this type; two vanished, however, during the forty-four years that the hoard was missing.⁹³

Obv. Standing St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield; to left A|Γ; to right, Δ|MH|Φ

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand and a globus cruciger in his left. Two stars in the left field, *manus Dei* in the upper right field



3. BZC.2007.6.10

D. 19 mm, W. 1.43 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 9B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 4b; *LPC* 212¹⁴; *DOC* 5.2:811–15

Obv. Indistinct

This coin is overstruck on a trachy of Andronikos II, *DOC* 5.2:825–32.⁹⁴ On the obverse it is possible to see traces of two standing figures, the emperor to the right, facing left, holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand, and the Virgin to the left, blessing the emperor. Star between, 9 in lower field.



4. BZC.2007.6.11

D. 17 mm, W. 0.98 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 9C; *LPC* 212¹⁴; *DOC* 5.2:811–15

Obv. Indistinct

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand; two stars in the left field

92 Bendall *ANSMN* and Longuet *RBN* are cited in full in n. 1 above.

93 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 147; Longuet, "Monnaies des Palaeologues," 4a.

94 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 147.

Type D—Andronikos III

Obv. Half-length winged archangel holding a sword and shield.

Rev. Emperor (left), wearing a crown and chlamys, kneeling before Christ who holds his right hand above the emperor's head in blessing and a book in his left



5. BZC.2007.6.3

D. 23 mm, W. 1.47 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 3; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 1; *LPC* 204¹; *DOC* 5.2:913–17

Type E—Andronikos III

Obv. Bust of a saint facing, wearing cuirass and sagion, holding an object (sword?) in his right hand

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a large labarum in his right hand and scepter in his left. In left field, Α|Φ|Χ (translated as ΚΥΡΙΕ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΝ by Longuet, in which case the letters are in reverse order)



6. BZC.2007.6.5

D. 23 mm, W. 1.70 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 5; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 5; *LPC* 240¹⁰

Type F—Andronikos III

Obv. Nimbate bust between Α Β

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand, between two stars and Α Β

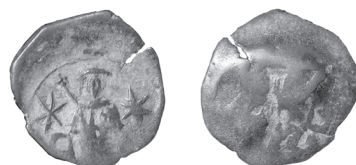


7. BZC.2007.6.7

D. 21 mm, W. 1.95 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 7A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 3a; *LPC* 240¹¹; *DOC* 5.2:931–32

This coin is overstruck on another of Andronikos II (*DOC* 5.2:770).⁹⁵ On the rev. to the left of the emperor can be seen the head and shoulder of another emperor holding a long cross.



8. BZC.2007.6.8

D. 20 mm, W. 1.72 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 7B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 3b; *LPC* 240¹¹; *DOC* 5.2:931–32

Obv. Only the Α to the left is visible

Type G—Andronikos III

Obv. Uncertain⁹⁶

Rev. Two nimbate standing figures holding a patriarchal cross between them. The right hand figure wears military dress



9. BZC.2007.6.4

D. 20 mm, W. 2.03 g (not 1.03 g)

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 4; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 22

Obv. Brockage (possible three-quarter figure)

95 Ibid.

96 This coin represents the only example of the type, thus it is impossible to describe the ideal obverse design.

Type H—Andronikos III

Obv. Three-quarter figure of a winged angel, holding a sword or spear in his right hand and shield in his left

Rev. Emperor standing facing, wing to right, holding a scepter in his left hand and a haloed cross in his right. In left field, ⚡



10. BZC.2007.6.6

D. 19 mm, W. 1.06 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 6; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 6; *PCPC* 258.1; *LPC* 238⁹; *DOC* 5.2:930

Type I—Andronikos III

Obv. Uncertain⁹⁷

Rev. Emperor standing facing, a model city in each hand; *manus Dei* in upper right field; star in lower right field



11. BZC.2007.6.9

D. 21 mm, W. 1.04 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 8; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 23; *LPC* Additions, no. 14; *DOC* 5.2:935

Obv. Indistinct

Type J—Andronikos III

Obv. Palaiologan monogram

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a globus cruciger in his left hand, beneath an arched doorway



12. BZC.2007.6.12

D. 17 mm, W. 1.07 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 10; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 17; *LPC* 240¹²; *DOC*

5.2:933

This coin is double struck.

Type K—Andronikos III⁹⁸

Obv. Six-petaled flower

Rev. Two standing figures, the emperor to the left, holding a scepter in his right hand, being blessed by a nimbate military saint, holding a spear in his left hand, to the right



13. BZC.2007.6.30

D. 17 mm, W. 1.18 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 14; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 21; *LPC* 208⁶

DOC 5.1:556 considers B and K to be one and the same, namely, *DOC* 5.2:765. Simon Bendall argued against this.

Type L—Andronikos III

Obv. Standing figure of the Virgin orans; two stars to either side

Rev. Emperor standing facing, wearing a crown and a loros, holding an akakia in his right hand with his left on his hip. A small, nimbate figure⁹⁹ in the upper right field blesses the emperor, ⚡ in lower right field.

97 This coin represents the only example of the type, thus it is impossible to describe the ideal obverse design.

98 Bendall, "Palaeologan Notes," 303. It is clear that these are in fact two separate types, B depicting two emperors on the reverse, K showing an emperor and a military saint.

99 In his discussion Grierson (*DOC* 5.2: no. 921) identifies this figure as Christ.



14. BZC.2007.6.24

D. 18 mm, W. 0.98 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13a; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921



15. BZC.2007.6.25

D. 20 mm, W. 1.82 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13b; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921

Rev. \mathfrak{B} not visible



16. BZC.2007.6.26

D. 17 mm, W. 1.38 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13C; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13c; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921



17. BZC.2007.6.27

D. 18 mm, W. 1.05 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13D; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13d; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921



18. BZC.2007.6.28

D. 20 mm, W. 1.17 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13E; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13e; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921

This coin was struck over a coin of the *LPC* Additions no. 7 type.¹⁰⁰ To the left of the emperor on the reverse can be seen fragments of two standing figures, a military saint to the left and an emperor to the right.



19. BZC.2007.6.29

D. 20 mm, W. 1.52 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 13F; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 13f; *LPC* 236⁴; *DOC*

5.2:921

Rev. Indistinct

This coin was struck over an earlier design, but it is too worn to decipher.

Type M—Andronikos III

Obv. Facing bust of a nimbate military saint, indistinct inscription

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand and a scepter in his left; *manus Dei* above



20. BZC.2007.6.31

D. 20 mm, W. 0.97 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 15A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 15a; *LPC* 236⁵

100 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 148.



21. BZC.2007.6.32

D. 19 mm, W. 1.60 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 15B; Longuet

RBN (1960), no. 15b; *LPC* 236⁵

Obv. A V in right field



22. BZC.2007.6.33

D. 17 mm, W. 1.30 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 15C; Longuet

RBN (1960), no. 15c; *LPC* 236⁵

Obv. Facing bust of a nimbate military saint.

A V in right field

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand and a scepter in his left. *Manus Dei* above

Variant A (Type M)—Andronikos III

Obv. Facing bust of a nimbate military saint holding a spear in his left hand; star in the left field

Rev. Emperor standing facing, holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand and a scepter in his left

As a result of the reidentification of the reverses of the previous three coins, this coin must be considered a variant rather than a distinct type. While the saint is similar, the star and the lack of an inscription are different.



23. BZC.2007.6.34

D. 20 mm, W. 1.00 g, Axis 07

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 15D; Longuet

RBN (1960), no. 15D; *LPC* 236⁵

Type N—Andronikos III

Obv. Patriarchal cross with winged shaft

Rev. Two half-length standing figures holding a cross between them, emperor on the left, holding a scepter in his right hand, and a nimbate saint on the right. Above, a segment of a circle containing a star



24. BZC.2007.6.35

D. 20 mm, W. 1.60 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 16A; Longuet

RBN (1960), no. 18a; *LPC* 234³; *DOC*

5.2:919–20



25. BZC.2007.6.36

D. 19 mm, W. 1.06 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 16B; Longuet

RBN (1960), no. 18b; *LPC* 234³; *DOC*

5.2:919–20

Obv. Fragments of a wing

The coin was struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰¹ This can most clearly be seen on the obverse where the Epirote cross has almost completely survived the restrrike and on the reverse where the castle occupies the position of the saint.



26. BZC.2007.6.37

D. 20 mm, W. 0.80 g, Axis 06

101 Ibid., 149.

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 16C; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 18c; *LPC* 234³; *DOC*
5.2:919–20

Obv. Patriarchal cross, winged shaft falls out-
side of the surviving area

The obverse shows signs of a previous design.

Type O—Andronikos III

Obv. Palaiologan monogram. Stars in the left and
right fields

Rev. Emperor riding to the right, holding a scepter
cruciger in his right hand. B in left field, star in
right field



27. BZC.2007.6.13

D. 20 mm, W. 1.66 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11A; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7a; *LPC* 242¹³



28. BZC.2007.6.14

D. 19 mm, W. 1.63 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11B; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7b; *LPC* 242¹³



29. BZC.2007.6.15

D. 21 mm, W. 1.89 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11C; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7c; *LPC* 242¹³



30. BZC.2007.6.16

D. 20 mm, W. 1.48 g, Axis 07

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11D; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7d; *LPC* 242¹³



31. BZC.2007.6.17

D. 19 mm, W. 1.45 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11E; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7e; *LPC* 242¹³



32. BZC.2007.6.18

D. 22 mm, W. 1.21 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11F; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7f; *LPC* 242¹³



33. BZC.2007.6.19

D. 20 mm, W. 1.13 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11G; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7g; *LPC* 242¹³



34. BZC.2007.6.20

D. 19 mm, W. 1.00 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11H; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7h; *LPC* 242¹³



35. BZC.2007.6.21
D. 20 mm, W. 0.97 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11I; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7i; *LPC* 242¹³



36. BZC.2007.6.22
D. 18 mm, W. 0.89 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 11J; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 7j; *LPC* 242¹³

Mule A—Andronikos III

- Obv. Three-quarter facing figure of a nimbate military saint, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left
Rev. Emperor riding to the right, holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand. B in left field, star in right field



37. BZC.2007.6.23
D. 17 mm, W. 1.08 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 12; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 8; *LPC* 242¹⁴

Mule B—Andronikos III

- Obv. Palaiologan monogram
Rev. Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross in his right hand, left hand not visible



38. BZC.2007.6.57
D. 19 mm, W. 0.58 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 19; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 16
This coin was struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰²

Type P—Andronikos III¹⁰³

- Obv. Half-length figure of St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield; to left, Γ|O|C to right, Δ|H|T
Rev. Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross in each hand

Although catalogued together as *DOC* 5.2:927–28 Bendall has made convincing arguments that these two coins are in fact separate issues belonging to different reigns, viz., 927 to Andronikos III and 928 to Andronikos II.



39. BZC.2007.6.38
D. 19 mm, W. 1.40 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17A; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 14a; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*
5.2:927



40. BZC.2007.6.39
D. 19 mm, W. 1.27 g, Axis 05
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17B; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 14b; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*
5.2:927
Obv. To left, Γ|O

102 Ibid., 150.

103 Bendall, "Palaeologan Notes," 303; idem, "Thessalonican Trachea," 263, 271–72.



41. BZC.2007.6.40

D. 19 mm, W. 1.18 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17C; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 14c; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927



42. BZC.2007.6.41

D. 20 mm, W. 1.11 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17D; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 14d; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927

Obv. Left-hand inscription unclear



43. BZC.2007.6.42

D. 17 mm, W. 0.73 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17E; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 14e; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927

Obv. Unclear



44. BZC.2007.6.43

D. 13 mm, W. 1.02 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17F; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 14f; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927



45. BZC.2007.6.44

D. 18 mm, W. 0.82 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17G; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 14g; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927

Obv. To left, Γ|O; right-hand inscription not visible

This coin is struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰⁴



46. BZC.2007.6.45

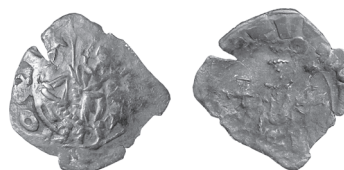
D. 18 mm, W. 0.57 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17H; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 32; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927

Obv. Unclear

This coin is struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰⁵



47. BZC.2007.6.46

D. 18 mm, W. 1.01 g, Axis 04

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17I; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 34; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC*

5.2:927

Obv. Left-hand inscription not visible; to right, T

This coin is struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰⁶

104 Bendall, "Salonica Hoard," 150.

105 Ibid.

106 Ibid.



48. BZC.2007.6.47

D. 20 mm, W. 1.70 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17J; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC* 5.2:927

Obv. To left, O|C; to right, Δ|M|T

This coin is overstruck on *LPC* 208, no. 6 (see number 13 in this catalogue), itself struck over *LPC* 224, no. 31 (standing emperor holding a model of a city in the right hand, a labarum in the left).¹⁰⁷



49. BZC.2007.6.48

D. 18 mm, W. 0.58 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 17K; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 15c; *LPC* 236⁶; *DOC* 5.2:927

Obv. Unclear

This coin is struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹⁰⁸

Type Q—Andronikos III

Obv. St. Demetrios seated with a sword across his knees. To left, O|AΓ|IO; to right, Δ|M|HT|P

Rev. Standing emperor holding a scepter cruciger in his right hand with a large lis in the right field; seven stars in the field



50. BZC.2007.6.49

D. 20 mm, W. 1.61 g, Axis 12

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19a; *LPC* 238⁷; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. Δ|. |H|. |P



51. BZC.2007.6.50

D. 22 mm, W. 1.76 g, Axis 12

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19b; *LPC* 238⁷; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. Δ|M|. |P

This coin was struck over a coin of type P from this catalogue.¹⁰⁹ On the obverse, to the left of the saint the base of a patriarchal cross and the emperor's robes can be seen. The top of the same cross is visible above the head of the saint. On the reverse, the shield of St. Demetrios can be seen below the lis and the rings/scales of his armor are to the left of the lis.



52. BZC.2007.6.51

D. 17 mm, W. 1.40 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18C; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19c; *LPC* 238⁷; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. Unclear



53. BZC.2007.6.52

D. 20 mm, W. 1.76 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18D; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19d; *LPC* 238⁷; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. To left, O|AΓ; to right, M|HT|P

Rev. Four (of seven) stars visible in the field

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.



54. BZC.2007.6.53

D. 20 mm, W. 0.73 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18E; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19e; *LPC* 2387; *DOC*

5.2:929

Obv. To left, O|Γ; to right, Δ|M|T|P

Rev. Six (of seven) stars visible in the field

This coin is struck over a denier of John

Orsini.¹¹⁰



55. BZC.2007.6.54

D. 20 mm, W. 1.41 g, Axis 12

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18F; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19f; *LPC* 2387; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. O|ΑΓ|.O; to right, Δ|H

Rev. Six (of seven) stars visible in the field



56. BZC.2007.6.55

D. 21 mm, W. 1.09 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18G; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 19g; *LPC* 2387; *DOC*

5.2:929

Obv. To right, T

Rev. Five (of seven) stars visible in the field

Almost half of this coin is missing. This coin was struck over a coin of type P from this catalogue.¹¹¹ On the obverse above the inscription, a Γ, the top of a spear, and the nimbate head of St. Demetrios can be seen. On the reverse, to the left of the emperor, the base of a patriarchal cross and the emperor's robes are visible.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.



57. BZC.2007.6.56

D. 19 mm, W. 0.69 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 18H; *LPC* 2387; *DOC* 5.2:929

Obv. Left hand inscription unclear, to right Δ|H|H|T

Rev. Lis obscure; four (of seven) stars visible in the field

This coin was struck over a denier of John Orsini.¹¹² Much of the later coin's design is obscured by the original.

Type R—John V

Obv. Bust of St. Demetrios holding a spear and a shield. To right, ΓO; to left, Δ|HM

Rev. John V kneeling before Christ who is nimbate and holds a cross-scepter over his left shoulder



58. BZC.2007.6.58

D. 21 mm, W. 1.20 g, Axis 07

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 20; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 2; *LPC* 234¹; *DOC* 5.2:1188–89

Obv. Γ not visible

This coin was struck over a coin of type P.¹¹³

Traces of this previous design can be seen to the left of the crouching emperor.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid., 151.

Type S—John V

Obv. Three-quarter figure of St. Demetrios holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. To right, Δ|HM|T

Rev. Two standing figures, Anna of Savoy to the left and John V to the right, holding a patriarchal cross between them. To left, AN; to right, ΙΩΑΝΔ



59. BZC.2007.6.59

D. 21 mm, W. 1.14 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 21A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 10; *LPC* 246¹; *DOC* 5.2:855–56



60. BZC.2007.6.60

D. 14 mm, W. 0.58 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 21B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 12; *LPC* 246¹; *DOC* 5.2:855–56

Obv. To right, HM|T

Rev. To right, Δ

Type T—John V

Obv. Standing winged archangel

Rev. Two standing figures, Andronikos III, bearded, to the left, the smaller John V, beardless, to the right, each holding a cross-scepter. A star in lower left and upper right fields, a cross in circle in upper left field



61. BZC.2007.6.61

D. 19 mm, W. 1.13 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 22A; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 11a; *LPC* 224¹; *DOC* 5.2:1191



62. BZC.2007.6.62

D. 18 mm, W. 1.02 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 22B; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 11b; *LPC* 224¹; *DOC* 5.2:1191

Rev. Cross in circle not visible



63. BZC.2007.6.63

D. 18 mm, W. 0.92 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 22C; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 11c; *LPC* 224¹; *DOC* 5.2:1191



64. BZC.2007.6.64

D. 18 mm, W. 1.00 g, Axis 06

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 22D; Longuet *RBN* (1960), no. 11d; *LPC* 224¹; *DOC* 5.2:1191

Rev. Star in lower left field and cross in circle not visible



65. BZC.2007.6.65
D. 17 mm, W. 0.46 g
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 22E; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 25; *LPC* 224¹; *DOC* 5.2:1191
Obv. Fragments of a standing winged archangel
Rev. Stars in the field and cross in circle obscure

Type U—Uncertain attribution



66. BZC.2007.6.66
D. 20 mm, W. 1.20 g
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 23; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 24
Obv. Three-quarter bust of a military saint
Rev. Unclear
The reverse shows signs of at least two earlier designs. Two borders are visible, and there are fragments of two standing figures.

Deniers Tournais—John Orsini¹¹⁴

Obv. IOHS DESPOTVS; a castle in the center
Rev. ARTA CASTRV; a cross in the center



67. BZC.2007.6.67
D. 15 mm, W. 0.52 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 24A; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 26; Schlumberger pl. 13
no. 16
This coin is possibly of IOAa type; a circle is visible to the right of the castle.



68. BZC.2007.6.68
D. 18 mm, W. 0.46 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 24B; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 27; Schlumberger pl. 13
no. 16
Obv. Fragments of an inscription
Rev. Fragments of an inscription; a cross in the center



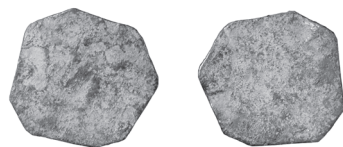
69. BZC.2007.6.69
D. 19 mm, W. 1.30 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 24C; Longuet
RBN (1960), no. 28; Schlumberger pl. 13
no. 16
Rev. Two circles to the left of the castle, a cross composed of four dots to the right. IOB 2



70. BZC.2007.6.70
D. 19 mm, W. 0.97 g, Axis 06
Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 24D;
Schlumberger pl. 13 no. 16
Rev. The coin is badly worn, possible cross to the left of the castle and an indeterminate feature to the right. IOB 2

114 Bendall (*ibid.*, 153) believed that all of the deniers tournais except coin 67 were overstruck, but that no signs of the new type survived. These coins are certainly damaged in a way that could be the result of an overstrike.

Deniers Tournois



71. BZC.2007.6.71

D. 18 mm, W. 0.59 g

Both sides of this coin are worn to the point where identification is extremely difficult. There are signs of a central border on one side.

Additions to the Hoard

Type P—Andronikos III

Obv. Half-length figure of St. Demetrios holding a spear and shield; to left, Γ|O|C; to right, Δ|H|T
Rev. Standing emperor holding a patriarchal cross in each hand



72. BZC.2007.6.72

D. 19 mm, W. 1.63 g, Axis 05

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 26; *LPC* 236⁶;

DOC 5.2:927–28

Obv. Fragments of a half-length figure of St. Demetrios

Signs of an unidentified undertype.

Andronikos III

Obv. Standing emperor holding a large B in both hands

Rev. Six-pointed star



73. BZC.2007.6.73

D. 17 mm, W. 0.58 g

Bendall *ANSMN* 29 (1984), no. 27; *LPC* 224³²

Rev. Unclear